

280 G. W. R. HARRINGTON.—*Malay Peoples: Some Aspects of*

(23) that national individualism is possible by expulsion from the tribe. They described their ethics in the following terms:—

(24) *Ko'mach* *Spak* *di* *kuich* *che* *nyach* *ak* *che*
We-tu-ku-mach *the-mach* *that* *we-may-get* *with-us* *good* *and* *with-us*
 (25) *pak* *di* *ku-ha* *pak* *takel* *lagu-ma* *chil'*
had *that* *they-may-achieve* *(they)* *the-people* *all* *the-land* *there*
ak *takel* *ku-ma* *di* *ku-ma* *muat* *ak*
other *any* *we-may* *(the)* *that* *we-may* *the-people* *other*

[“We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country.”]

IV.—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MAGIC, AND MANNERS.

Religion.

771 The religious beliefs of the Ilahe are even vaguer than those of the Mandi.
 776 They believe in a god *Akai* (K.), who is the sun and moon, and who has a
 (26) sister *Awea** (K.), the moon. No offerings are made to either, but the men pray
 to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

*Akai** *iply'ach* *muat*
God *the-people* *the-land*

(27) or

*Awea** *iply'ach* *muat*
Moon *the-people* *the-land*

• (28) They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*malak*, pl. *ak*, K.) which are good and
 (29) bad. Prayers are addressed to the good *ak* (*ak* *che* *nyach*) to obtain food and
 health, e.g.:—

ak, *iply'ach* *muat*
The-people *the-people* *the-land*

(30)

ak, *iply'ach* *muat*
The-people *the-people* *the-land*

(31) libations of honey and water (*lagu-ma**) and of honey-wine (*kipi-ma*, K.) are
 offered to the good *ak*, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are
 made from gourds (*ku-ma*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

(32)

iply'ach *muat* *di* *kipi-ma* *muat*
the-people *the-land* *that* *we-may* *the-land* *health*

is pronounced.

(33)

* I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Ilahe-Mandi group, though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Mandi and Mandi). (the Mandi, the Ilahe, for the Ilahe of the Ilahe, the Ilahe, the Ilahe, etc.)

* The Mandi offer milk.

T. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *aiset ap esowilak* (or, *ailak*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipoo	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimopo	Kipoo
His son:	Tiongol	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet (will be) born	Kimopo
		Tiongol

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*aiset am musarek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikurin Siowu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngatuny, "lionkiller".

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[898] to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingwanyi ci oh cept ap lilist, caluho ne co kut, amu macome apaisish ngui macome cesowiloh*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *lilist* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *lilist*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowiloh*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

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162 Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

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561 At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.

- 1 Kapelac.
- 1 married Nyongi, wife and children.
- 1 married Maina, wife and children.
- 5 unmarried Maina.
- 1 Juma.
- 3 old women and 1 girl.

At Kepen; Moi and Kapsokoi clans.

- 1 Kimnyike.
- 2 married Nyongi, wives and children.
- 3 unmarried Nyongi.
- 6 unmarried Maina.

At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.

- 1 married Nyongi, wife absent.
- 4 unmarried Maina.
- 2 Juma.
- 3 widows and 2 girls living with them.
- 1 married Nyongi, wife and children.
- 1 married Maina, wife and children.
- 1 unmarried Nyongi.

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

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I noticed that when Dorobo were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *horet* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *horet* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *horet* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *horet* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *horosueh*. The functions of the *horet* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kernoc nalek si hesic ce miyac ah ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cil ake tukul, keoon si hua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do something unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *comsisiriat*, is his arm, *se asiye pdk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since. 776 [773]

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *heliot* bush*. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *heliot* poison, like that man of old†. 776 [773]

Besides *Asista*, *Araua*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi**, and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik* *hopotok oiik*, *akenge tukul*, *hikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* (the bad). 775

The spirits of the dead live in the *horat ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for 775 [825] [822]

* *Acucanthera* Schimper.

† It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57, 1927, p. 468 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo. [77]

* The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowiloi*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilok*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MARGAN gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

* This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambuu*, "spirit". [77]

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1782
1825

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoi laknet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

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The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*urnet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

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1782

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilok, oknec liony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
oknec humik si hiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si hiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

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When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si koripe, korn ne korue cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

1776

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, wi, "Go, go"*, ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery. 753 776 755

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then oil their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omanda anyun, otuiyo oh lahok*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine. 763 764 [783]

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracaena* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned. [766] [768]

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living. 775 •

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control 789

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*. 176
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But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuyuwet* against the evil eye, *revendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors. 175
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Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ia)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Araus* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection. 175
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The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

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182 ● A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

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[77] It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion¹², and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

¹² As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

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Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeyu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

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775 the case of the Kikuyu we might include unlimited spiritual forest
ripe for hacking.

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423 P. 1227 Land in relation to the spirit world

775 One aspect of this belief in personal spirits who retain an interest
in the welfare of their relatives on earth—and apparently a very
human interest at that—is that the occupiers of the land go to reside
beneath its surface when they die. It seems that some priority or
extra potency is accorded in this belief to early occupation. The
1929 Committee said:

"... the immanence of ancestral spirits appears to find illustration
in the Butaka system of Uganda, where it is said that the graves
of from three to five generations of ancestors are held to con-
stitute a claim to the land."

Roscoe, indeed, in The Baganda, had written:

"Chiefs had to be on the alert to prevent people from burying
their dead in good gardens, because the gardens thereby became
freehold lands."

Dr. L. P. Mair disputes this statement, qualifying it as follows:

"... the graves of previous occupiers would be pointed out as
evidence of the claim, but it is important to note that they
were merely evidence, the claim itself resting on the original
grant and the fact that successive kings had not interfered with
it" (1);

1. "Baganda land tenure," Africa, April 1938

even so, early occupation was of great importance and apparently
connected with some priority accorded to the dead.

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423 We might perhaps find in some such principle a partial explanation
of the Dorobo attitude concerning "sales." Karanja wa Waweru, a
Dorobo, giving evidence in the Kiambu District Commissioner's
Appeal Case No. 1 of 1931, affirmed that the land in question had
been sold by his grandfather and was Kikuyu land, but that he, and
his son after him, were entitled to receive goats in respect of it.
He therefore admitted that the land was lawfully occupied by Kikuyu,
but perhaps intended to intimate that the occupation could not be
deemed complete until at least four generations of Kikuyu dead were

underneath the soil. That was not in fact the explanation that he gave but there may have been at the back of his mind some feeling of the sort. For otherwise it is difficult to understand, on any principle of direct purchase, how he could reconcile the statements that the land was Kikuyu land and that his family was entitled to receive goats "to balance the profits." His previous statement that "in the old days there was no outright sale," though it confirms in some degree our contention that the Kikuyu brought their Metume customs with them, is no sufficient answer because all that could mean is that the land was still Dorobo land. There is, however, another possible explanation which will be noticed later.

However that may be, there was no doubt some consideration of the rights of disembodied early occupiers at the back of the reply an old Kikuyu gave me to the question as to why the Kikuyu immigrants did not drive the Dorobo out but "bought" them out instead. Like all the others questioned on the point he first of all replied that it would never have entered a Kikuyu head to do so dastardly a thing, but when invited to explain he said, "the earliest owners of the land were Gumba. They lived beneath the ground and when they disappeared they vanished into it. Our fathers, when they died, would go there too. And so they could not drive the Dorobo out by force." At first sight there is [p. 123] something of a non sequitur in this reply, but examination probably reveals the line of thought. The Dorobo who succeeded them in occupation of the land had presumably already made their peace with living Gumba or with the spirits of the Gumba dead. They were probably blood-brothers of the Gumba or the latter had expressed by ritual their acquiescence in the occupation following theirs. To drive that occupation out would rouse the Gumba in the spirit world and call forth spiritual opposition to the new invaders. In any case the Gumba were still there—beneath the ground—and any rapine of the land, still theirs within the spirit world in partnership perhaps with the Dorobo dead, would certainly offend them and be liable to undermine (the very word) Kikuyu operations in a stretch of land the like of which, for agriculture, they had rarely seen. Not only that, but what a reception would they get as guests when in their turn they ceased to live on top and joined the underworld!

/258 cont. /

805 Today is called igifi or igila, tomorrow lape or labe, yesterday
192 arech; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before
yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, millek; the next day
is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after
that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those
171 that we have become acquainted with among the Masai, except that
776 they do not call God 'Ng ai, but U^d. In songs God is also frequently
(821) called the black God, U^d kabiasa; on the other hand designations
analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the
sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter
adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the
Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They
have no pictorial representations of U^d, for the same reasons as

782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home,
the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness;
in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every
morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children
see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer.
This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A sup-
plication /259/ for protection runs: U^d sigima gemischin; for chil-
dren, U^d nge hawa; for wives, U^d nge mai; for meat, U^d nge aga;
for honey, U^d nge aguñg; for food, U^d nge e haiug; for health if
one is sick, U^d adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul --
in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people.

• 775
[771] The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make
statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai,
4 see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116,
pp. 268-279--Analyst]